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Children's attitudes toward adults were studied in a Harlem public school. Under the conditions of a game, 51 Negro children were tested. The first part was "Let's see if any of these teachers remind you of your own teacher," as the child glanced through pictures, both pleasant and unpleasant, of Negro and white teachers. The second part was "Now you can choose the ones you would like to have for your teacher." Answers showed trends of feelings, but not enough children were tested to allow definite conclusions. Findings are suggested as possible trends for further exploration.

The article was published for the purpose of the groundwork it represents. The experiment itself was for two direct purposes: whether children would be influenced by color or by the pleasant-unpleasant aspect of the pictures when asked to pick out those that reminded them of their teachers, and how much of the color factor would enter in at all when they were asked to choose the pictures they liked.

Research was proposed in the area of perception of the color factor.

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REACTIONS OF NEGRO CHILDREN TOWARD NEGRO AND WHITE TEACHERS

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John is a 7-year-old Negro boy in a Harlem public school. In this school, as in other Harlem schools, there are both Negro and white teachers. John's teacher happens to be white. John is looking at a set of test pictures representing the heads of teachers. There are attractive, pleasant looking teachers among these pictures, and there are unpleasant, mean-looking teachers. Negro and white faces are equally represented.

John is asked to look through these eight pictures and pick out the ones he'd like to have for a teacher. He chooses only the two pleasant looking white teachers, saying of the Negro pictures, "I like a white teacher more."

On the other hand, there is a 9-year-old Negro girl in the school who seems to have very different feelings. Her teacher is Negro. She includes both of the pleasant Negro pictures in her choices, saying of one of them, "I like her very much. She reminds me of my teacher."

What accounts for such a difference? Age of the children involved? The fact that one is a boy and the other a girl? The different experiences each has had in the classroom, one with a white teacher and the other with a Negro teacher? And how typical are these attitudes? What do we know about the way children react to color in the adults who are their teachers?

Children's attitudes toward each other and toward themselves in respect to color have been rather widely explored by Hartley and others. The area of children's attitudes toward adults, however, is relatively untouched.

Our experiment in the Harlem public school represents only a tentative beginning. Carried out with only 51 children as subjects, its findings necessarily can point only to possible trends and avenues for further research. So much interesting material came to light, however, that it seems important to present it for the sake of the groundwork it represents. Though findings are not conclusive, the points of departure for further research are rather clearly indicated.

In presenting to the children our pictures of pleasant and unpleasant appearing teachers of both races, we were exploring only one small segment of the general problem, that segment dealing with the relative importance of color on the one hand, and personal qualities such as kindliness and pleasantness on the other, in the children's thinking about their teachers. Specifically, we hoped to find out, first, whether the children would be influenced more by color or by the pleasant-unpleasant aspect of the pictures when asked to pick out those that reminded them of their teachers; and second, how much the color factor would enter in at all when they were asked to choose the pictures they liked.

Toward these ends, the children were asked only two crucial questions about the pictures, though there were many other decoy questions interjected for reasons of tact. First, each child was asked to look through the pictures one by one and pick out those teachers who reminded him of his own teacher in any way. Second, he was asked to choose those whom he would like to have for his own teacher, and to indicate his favorite one among his choices.

The pictures themselves were prepared especially for this test, painted in bright attractive colors. Our original plan had been to represent not only pleasant and "mean" faces, but pleasant and unpleasant schoolroom situations. The teachers were shown in such attitudes as taking comic books away from children, singing with a group of children at the piano, etc. A preliminary experiment, however, showed us that this introduced too many complicating factors. For our present test, then, we covered over all of the picture except the teacher's face and a little of her dress at the neck.

The pictures were judged beforehand by a group of adults, particularly with reference to the accurate representation of the Negro-white factor, and were found satisfactory. That they had many shortcomings became apparent only later, as the children themselves commented on the pictures. This will become evident as we report the findings.

In representing the Negro and white faces, an attempt was made to avoid extremes. The Negroes were only medium dark in skin color; the white teachers were light brunettes. We felt that by keeping in this middle range we would be approximating the real life situation, in which there are many mulatto types, as well as dark skinned and dark haired white types. It was our hypothesis that in this real life situation some children may find the personality aspects of their teachers more important in their feeling and thinking

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than the color aspects. We did not want to distort this situation and its dynamics in our test, as we thought we might if we confronted a child with pictures of very dark Negro faces and very light white faces, and then asked him to pick out those reminding him of his teacher.

The 51 subjects, all Negro children in the same Harlem public school, were distributed as follows, according to teacher, age, sex:

Children with white teachers

Age:	6-7	8-11	Total
Boys	7	9	16
Girls	8	11	19

Children with Negro teachers

Boys	2	6	8
Girls	4	4	8

The 8-11 age grouping may appear to be too inclusive. Actually, however, there were only one 11-year-old and four 10-year-olds in the group. The majority were 8 and 9 years of age. These groupings are not too important, anyway, since the numbers are so small. We were not able to really explore age and sex differences.

The children, chosen largely by lot, were taken one at a time from their classrooms to a private testing room. The test was, of course, presented as a kind of game, and the majority of children were eager to come. Dr. Biber administered some of the tests, Miss Lewis others. An effort was made to find a Negro examiner for a third tester, but this was not possible. It would have been interesting to compare results.

Part I

"Let's see if any of these teachers remind you of your own teacher."

How influenced do the children seem to be by the color factor when they are looking at pictures with the intent of finding resemblances to their own teachers? Are they looking primarily at color or at facial expression? Will children with white teachers ever pick out Negro pictures, and vice versa? If they don't, do they come right out and say, "She's the wrong color?"

Our findings show distinct differences in the attitudes, or perceptions, of the children, according to whether their own teachers are Negro or white.

In brief, it seems to be easier for children with Negro teachers to pick out pictures of white teachers as resembling their own than it is for children with white teachers to pick out Negro pictures. Fifty percent of the children with Negro teachers include pictures of white teachers whereas only 28 percent of the children with white teachers include Negro pictures.

The children with white teachers object openly to the skin color factor more often than the children with Negro teachers do. In fact, in the white group there are six children (17 percent) who consistently raise this objection on every Negro picture in the series, in no uncertain terms: "No, she's colored." "No, she's too dark." "No, my teacher she is white." Etc.

There is only one child (6 percent) in the group with Negro teachers whose skin color criterion is as rigid as this, leading her to pick out all the Negro pictures and none of the white, for this specific reason.

Furthermore, there are a number of children (37 percent) in the group with white teachers who, though they do not mention skin color as a criterion on every Negro picture in the series, do mention it at some time or other on Negro pictures that they exclude. Only 19 percent of the children with Negro teachers come out with any mention of skin color as a reason for not picking white teachers in this part of the test. Many more of these children are able to make their selections apparently without reference to the skin color factor at all, neither saying anything about it nor implying awareness of it in any way. (Compare 50 percent with 28 percent.) That is, the fact that they select and reject pictures of both races for the same kinds of reasons indicates an apparent indifference to the color factor. Such reasons are by no means restricted to whether or not the teacher looks nice, is "fussing," etc. This pleasant-unpleasant aspect of the pictures is of only secondary importance here, as we shall indicate in more detail later. Instead, these reasons may have to do with whether or not the teacher wears glasses, has long hair, short hair or grey hair; and in a few cases the choices seem to be quite random or with irrelevant reasons, suggesting confusion.

These children select proportionately more pictures from the whole series than do the children in the other group. They seem freer to find resemblances. Their 49 choices represent 38 percent of the total possible choices, whereas the children with white teachers select only 26 percent of the total. The following table showing the proportions of Negro and white pictures selected by both groups sums up the differences graphically:

Selections of Children with White Teachers

N = [illegible] (.26)

White pictures	.78
Negro pictures.....	.21

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Selections of Children with Negro Teachers

N = 49 (.38)

White pictures.....	.42
Negro pictures.....	.56

We are dealing, of course, with a very small number of children. But the trend seems clear. The children who have Negro teachers will see resemblances in the white pictures. The children with white teachers are less ready to admit likenesses in the Negro pictures. Furthermore, children in this latter group articulate their awareness of the skin color factor more than the others do.

Does this mean that the children with Negro teachers have a wish for, a preference for the white teacher, due to the prejudice that exists in our culture, and so are very ready to accept a picture of her as "like their own teacher"?

Or could it have something to do with actual perception of faces? That is, in a culture where there are so many mulatto types, is it easier to look for Negroid characteristics in the "white" face than it is to take an unmistakable Negro as a white person? That is, when children with Negro teachers include white pictures, does this mean that they are choosing faces that could potentially be Negro faces, whereas children with white teachers are faced with no such potential range when they look at pictures of Negro faces? These are, perhaps, the two primary questions raised by this material, and we shall have occasion to return to them as we proceed.

If preference for the white teacher is a major factor involved here, one may wonder if there were any children at all in the group with white teachers who revealed that they were aware of the racial difference and yet were willing to say that a Negro picture reminded them of their teacher in some way.

There were only three such children, all of them making it clear that the resemblances they saw were limited. One, a 9-year-old girl, says of one of the nice Negro pictures, "Yes the whole face is like her except that she isn't that color." An 8-year-old boy says of this same picture, "A little bit. But my teacher's got a light face and different eyes." The third child, a 9-year-old girl, does not actually say this is a Negro teacher, though is undoubtedly implying it. She seems clearly enough to recognize the Negro factor on the other three Negro pictures in the series. Her reply on this one is, "A little bit, 'cause my teacher has her hair up a little bit."

It is interesting to note that when Negro pictures are chosen by children in the group with white teachers, —and there are ten children, or 28 percent who do, most of them giving no clue to any awareness of color difference, —it is always done by girls, with the exception of the one boy noted above, who makes it clear that he knows this picture is not the right color. Is there less readiness in boys to accept the Negro teacher than in girls, who perhaps are more able to identify themselves with her? This seems to us to be one of the important questions for further research. Our findings here are of course not very conclusive, yet later on there is still another piece of evidence in this direction.

Age differences, also, we cannot really study with our small numbers, yet there are suggestive findings which at least pose interesting questions. In the group with white teachers, the six children who rigidly reject every Negro picture because of the skin color factor, plainly saying so, are all in the 6-7 year old age range. On the other hand, there are ten children who do not say anything about skin color per se, but yet will pick only the white pictures. All but two of them fall in the 8-11 year old group. Some of these children, it is true, may be expressing awareness of the racial difference when they raise such objections as "different face," "black hair," "lips," "mouth"—but none of them come out bluntly with such statements as "She's colored and my teacher's white." Is there a certain caution or tact or repression learned as the child grows older? Does the presence of the white examiner influence these replies? Or do Negro characteristics other than skin color take on greater importance with age? There is room for a great deal more delineation of the factors that are seen as Negro characteristics in the eyes of Negro children. This is one of the areas to explore in further testing.

It is difficult to see any trend in age and sex differences in our children with Negro teachers. This may be partly because the group is so small, only 16 children, and also because the problem involved for them is an entirely different one. The three children who come out plainly with mention of color as a reason for not choosing the white pictures are all in the 8-11 group, two boys and one girl. The psychological factors involved here, however, seem quite different from those involved in seeing resemblances in Negro pictures when your own teacher is white.

Before turning to a consideration of the children's responses to the pleasant or unpleasant tone of the pictures, we might point out here one of the interesting aspects of the meaning of "skin color" as revealed in the comments of several of the children. There is evidence that not "color" per se, but <u>degree</u> of color is the measuring rod. Those who mentioned skin color often were looking at the pictures to see whether the skin was as light or lighter than their teacher's. There were even one or two instances of children with white teachers excluding white pictures for the wrong

degree of color, when they were looking for resemblances to their teacher. For instance, one 8-year-old boy found two of the white pictures "lighter than my teacher." And a child in the group with Negro teachers finds one of the nice Negro pictures too dark to resemble her own teacher.

We have already indicated that the pleasant-unpleasant aspect of the pictures was not of primary importance in this part of the test, at least not to the children with white teachers. There were only two of them (6 percent) who made their selections entirely on this basis, regardless of the color of the faces. Both of these children were six-year-old girls. One of them expresses her feelings in terms of whether or not the teacher is "fussing." The other one is looking at ugliness and prettiness: "No, she's too ugly," "Yes, she's pretty. Face and hair is pretty."

There were others—to the extent of 28 percent—who made some reference to pleasantness or unpleasantness, along with other reasons. And, of course, some may have been influenced by the expression of the faces without knowing clearly how to verbalize their reaction. It is extremely hard to interpret a response like "Yes, her face is like her." The table of actual choices gives the story more accurately than the children's words:

Selections of Children with White Teachers

N = 73

Negro Pictures		White Pictures	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
12	4	34	23
.16	.05	.48	.30

What this means is that the children's primary criterion for resemblance is color, not pleasantness; that many children find more resemblance to their own teachers in a mean white picture than in a nice Negro picture. However, once the color factor has been taken care of then niceness has some importance. The children do see more resemblances in the nice than in the mean pictures.

Those who select the mean faces, it should be explained, are largely those children in the youngest age group, who make a blanket selection of the four white teachers, and a blanket rejection of the four Negro pictures. In addition, there are a few whose selections seem rather random or irrelevant, suggesting some confusion about the test, or difficulty in discriminating.

When we turn now to the children with Negro teachers, we find that here also pleasantness is rarely the primary and sole criterion. There is only one child, a 6-year-old boy, who seems to be making his selections in terms of whether or not the teacher "has a smile on her face."

However, there are many more children in this group who make some reference to pleasantness as one of the criteria of importance to them. As in the other group, it is sometimes difficult to determine the meaning of the reasons given, but it seems safe to assume that expressions such as "No, her nose is not out and her mouth is not like that," refer to the sharp cross features of the teacher pictured. As many as 37 percent of the children seem to be expressing an awareness of the pleasant-unpleasant factor. Their actual selections also show that for them the feeling for pleasantness can operate in a wider range than it could for the other group. They are not so restricted by the necessity to eliminate color first:

Selections of Children with Negro Teachers

N = 48

Negro Pictures		White Pictures	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
19	9	12	9
.38	.18	.24	.18

Unlike the situation in the other group, the "mean" selections here obviously cannot be accounted for by a tendency of some children to sweepingly include all the pictures of the right color, regardless of how cross and unpleasant the facial expression may be. There is only one child in this group who is making his selections this way. On the other hand, there are three rather discriminating older children who seem to be attempting to look at many separate features, finding likenesses in both Negro and white, and pleasant and unpleasant pictures. And as in the other group, there is some evidence of confusion, in at least one child.

To sum up briefly the results on Part I of the test, we can say that there is considerable evidence that these Harlem children feel that the white teacher has primacy. The children with Negro teachers find it much easier to see resemblances in white pictures than children with white teachers do in the Negro pictures. And children in this latter group openly express their objections on the basis of skin color more often than the children with Negro teachers do.

The pleasant-unpleasant aspect of the pictures is of only very secondary importance, when the children are looking for resemblances to their teachers. Though the majority of the children see more likeness in the nice pictures than in the mean pictures, the color aspect—the primacy of the white color—must be reckoned with first. For children with white teachers, this means that very few resemblances can be seen in Negro pictures, no matter how pleasant they may be.

For children with Negro teachers, it means that though most of the resemblances are seen in the Negro pictures, the children can more often point to a picture of the opposite race and say, "She's like my teacher."

Part II

"Now you can choose the ones you would like to have for your teacher."

What happens now? If the children have a preference for the white teacher, do they exclude the Negro pictures in choosing the teachers they would like to have?

This is not the case. Taking the group of children as a whole, regardless of whether the classroom teacher is Negro or white, we find the preferences distributed as follows:

Choices of Pictures

N = 221

Negro Pictures		White pictures	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
78	24	94	25
.35	.11	.42	.11

We see that the children are influenced by pleasantness much more than by color. It is true that the white teacher gets a small edge of preference, though the difference between 35 percent and 42 percent should not be taken as very significant, in view of our small numbers.

When we consider the children in their two groupings, those with white teachers and those with Negro teachers, there are some differences in line with what we might expect, though by no means indicating a complete rejection of the Negro teacher by children who have white teachers:

Choices of Children with White Teachers

N = 147

Negro Pictures		White Pictures	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
50	13	66	18
.34	.09	.44	.12

Choices of Children with Negro Teachers

N = 74

Negro Pictures		White Pictures	
Nice	Mean	Nice	Mean
28	11	28	7
.37	.15	.37	.10

We see that children with Negro teachers include the nice Negro pictures to the same extent as the nice white. The children with white teachers are not so ready to give the Negro teacher an equal place in their feelings, yet when she is pictured as a pleasant person, this weighs heavily with them. They say of these pictures, "Yes, she's nice." "I like her, because she look like she got a nice class." "Yes, 'cause she's pretty." "Yes, she looks like she's speakin' nice." "Yes, she laughs."

The question comes to mind at once, are these children who include Negro pictures all girls? There is some tendency in this direction, apparently, though it is only a slight one. Ninety-three percent of the girls are willing to include Negro teachers compared with 79 percent of the boys. And as might be expected, it is the boys in the group with white teachers who are least ready to include the Negro picture. However, it is not the case, as might be expected, that the boys who are ready to choose Negro pictures are all from the older group. It will be remembered that in selecting resemblances, the children with white teachers whose color awareness was plainly outspoken were the younger children, and that there were six such children who did not select any Negro picture from the series, because of their strong awareness of the Negro factor. There is no clear age difference in the boys on this part of the test. We find that 78 percent of the 6-7 year old boys are willing to choose pictures of Negroes for teachers they would like, and 80 percent of the older boys.

Just as there seems to be no trend in age difference for the boys here, so also there is none for the group in general. The difference between boys and girls can be explored a little further, however. The children were asked to choose their one favorite picture after they had chosen all they would like to have for teachers. Differences between boys' and girls' favorites are quite striking.

Only three boys, or 14 percent, pick out one of the nice Negro faces as a favorite, while eight girls, or 30 percent, choose Negroes as favorites. The factor of whether the child's own teacher is Negro or white seems to further sharpen this picture:

Choice of Favorite Teacher

Children with White Teachers

Boys (N = 14)

No. 4, Nice White	.71
No. 5, Nice Negro	.14
No. 1, Nice White	.14

Girls (N = 19)

No. 4, Nice White	.58

No. 1, Nice White .26
No. 7, Nice Negro .10
No. 5, Nice Negro .05

Children with Negro Teachers

Boys (N = 8)

No. 4, Nice White .62
No. 1, Nice White .12
No. 5, Nice Negro .12
No. 3, Mean White .12

Girls (N = 8)

No. 7, Nice Negro .37
No. 5, Nice Negro .25
No. 1, Nice Negro .25
No. 4, Nice White .12

It looks as though the fact that a boy has a Negro teacher does not make him disposed to choose a Negro picture for a favorite. Only one of our eight boys with Negro teachers choose a Negro favorite. On the other hand, if a girl has a Negro teacher, this may have some influence on her preferences. Our girls with Negro teachers choose more Negro than white pictures as favorites. We repeat that these findings on such a very small group cannot be considered as anything more than suggestive as possible trends for further exploration. It seems a likely hypothesis, however, that Negro girls may find it somewhat easier to identify themselves with and thus accept the Negro woman who is their teacher. It is possible that some of these girls may be looking forward to careers as teachers themselves, with a feeling that such positions carry with them a good deal of status. In fact, Negro girls in this school have been overheard to say just this.

It will be noted that on the whole, nice white picture number 4 is greatly preferred to nice white picture number 1. This may have something to do with the fact that number 4 was a much larger head than any of the others. This is one of the factors that should be eliminated in any further testing.

Are there children who state pointblank that they would not like a teacher who is a Negro, either when they are choosing a favorite or when they are selecting all the pictures they like? There is very little indication of this. In our group with white teachers there are only five children, or 14 percent, who actually mention color as a reason for choosing the white, or rejecting the Negro picture, and another three, or 8 percent, who reject all the Negro pictures without giving the color factor pointblank as a reason, but may be implying it, ("Has big lips," etc.). Then there is one child who rejects the Negro teacher because he seems to think that "she will let the children fight." This attitude is far from typical, and is expressed by only one other child out of our total of 51. On the other side of the ledger entirely, there is one, an 8-year-old girl, who chooses both the nice Negro pictures, giving as her reason on one of them that she likes the face and eyes. When questioned what she likes about them, she says, "'Cause brown." This is not entirely clear, but may refer to the skin color factor.

In the group with Negro teachers there is only one child who mentions color as a reason for not choosing a picture. This is the child referred to above, who thinks the Negro teachers will let children fight. And there is one child who mentions color as a reason for liking one of the nice Negro pictures, "Yes, 'cause she's colored."

These are smaller proportions than occurred when the children were looking for resemblances. Certainly the majority of the children in both groups, when asked to select all the pictures they like, are looking chiefly for a pleasant teacher. And they often express this very clearly in such ways as:

"No, she looks like she's going to beat a child."
"Yes—smiling."
"No, mean. Yelling too."
"Yes, she's nice."
"Yes, she looks like she got a nice class. Lets the children play."
"No, her face is crookled up like she mad."
"No, she looks mean."
"Yes, because her face is cute."
"She looks awful mean."
"No, she looks too cranky."
"Yes, 'cause she's kindly."

A good proportion of the children in both groups choose just the two nice white pictures, rejecting all of the others. However, unpleasant pictures are chosen to the extent of 21 percent for children with white teachers, and 25 percent for children with Negro teachers. How can this be explained? Confusion on the part of the children, as we suggested was a factor in Part I of the test? Desire for a cross teacher? Or do some of the pictures fail to convey the intended expression?

A combination of these factors is probably at work here. In the first place, there undoubtedly is confusion on the part of some of the children, particularly those in the 6-7 year age range. The child who chooses every picture in the series and gives as his reason every time, "Yes, she colored," (or "Yes, she white," for a white picture) seems not to have clearly understood what was wanted.

On the other hand, there are two children, one in each group, who do seem to want cross teachers—just cross enough, that is, to keep a class in order. This is how a 7-year-old girl

with a white teacher explains her choice of a mean white picture: "Because she look like she get after the children." When questioned further about this, she explained, "Because the children are so bad in my class." However, this child did not want teachers who were "too mean."

Most important, however, is the likelihood that some of the mean pictures were not always seen as unpleasantly mean. The evidence is particularly clear in the case of the Negro picture number 6. Four of the children who chose her expressed very clearly their feeling that there was nothing objectionable to her:

> Girl, age 6—"Yes, she is nice. She have on nice earrings, dress."
> Girl, age 8—"Yes, 'cause she's kindly."
> Boy, age 8—"Yes, she looks more like my teacher."
> Boy, age 10—"Yes, I like the way she's looking, and she's got a pretty color of hair."

There is other evidence that her facial characteristics were definitely misunderstood by at least a few children, who at various times in the test referred to this teacher as "sneezing," "almost crying," or having "earrings." There were actually no earrings in the picture. Children who saw earrings were misled by the artist's way of picturing the ear. In Part I of this test, also, this particular picture was selected more often than the other "mean" Negro picture by children with Negro teachers. Here again is evidence that a painted set of pictures can have serious drawbacks.

In summarizing results on Part II of the test, we might point particularly to three important findings that seem to emerge from this material:

1. The children who have had actual experience with Negro teachers in the classroom choose as many (in fact, more) Negro pictures than white, when asked to pick out all the pictures they like. This suggests that experience with Negro teachers tends to modify the preference for the white teacher.

2. All of the children are strongly influenced by the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the faces, in making their choices. Even children with white teachers are very ready to include a picture of a Negro teacher who appears to them "kindly" and smiling.

3. Girls seem to be more ready than boys to accept the Negro teachers. Girls who have Negro teachers in their own classrooms choose more Negro pictures than white, even when they are selecting their one favorite picture.

There may be, of course, the possibility that at least some of the children did not feel free to reject the Negro pictures outright, even if they had wanted to. Is there a chance that in selecting resemblances, the children can let more of their real feelings slip in through the "back door" than when they are asked point blank to show to white examiners the pictures they like? Or is the preference for the white teacher an evaluation which operates in slightly different ways, according to the implications of the situation?

Such questions as these point to the need for further research around this focus: What kind of primacy does the white teacher have in the eyes of Negro children? Under what conditions can it be modified? Are girls more ready to accept the Negro teacher than boys? What differences are there in feelings about color—and the possible freedom to express them—at various age levels?

Further research on this problem should also take into consideration the area of perception of the Negro factor. We have already suggested that children may find it easier to see Negroid characteristics in the pictures of white faces than white characteristics in Negro faces. Closely allied to this are other factors related to the Negro child's concept of "Negro," which should be allowed for in further testing. As we have pointed out, hair, lips, mouth, nose have importance to the children as distinguishing features. Skin color is by no means the sole criterion. And even "skin color" itself should not be thought of in static terms. To the Negro child, "color" is not a simple matter of yes or no. There is considerable evidence that its significance to children lies in its degree.

The findings of this preliminary experiment, if verified in further testing, should be of the utmost importance to all educators who are working in the area of intercultural relations. There is no getting away from the arrow that points to certain concepts of primacy of the white teacher in the eyes of these Negro children; yet at the same time there is childhood's universal wish for the kindly adult protector, the teacher who "laughs" and "speaks nice."

The children in this study have made it overwhelmingly clear that they are drawn to the pleasant teacher; that they do not like the "yelling," "fussing," "cranky" teachers. This is perhaps something that all of us know, if we stop to think of it. Yet we are apt to forget what powerful weapons kindliness and laughter are. There is evidence in this study that many children will think first of how "nice" a teacher is, and only

second of what color she is, when making choices of the teachers they would like to have.

It is clear, too, that those children who can overlook the color aspects and center primarily on the pleasant aspects, when making their choices of teachers, are particularly those children who have had actual experience with Negro teachers in their own classrooms, and thus have had the opportunity to build up strong positive feelings about them. Experience undoubtedly helps to break down prejudice—the daily experience of living and working in the same classroom, and becoming involved in the close and meaningful relationships of teacher to child, child to teacher. That the majority of the children in this study did have good, friendly feelings about their own teachers, Negro or white, is very evident.

Here are weapons for educators to use in the fight against prejudice, against "primacy" of any color over another.

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